2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

VILLAGES

Following is a list of villages (xwi'i'lx^{w}) as obtained from John Tom, Bob Covington and William Burke. A few of these sites were occupied as late as 1879 but since that time most of the old villages have been abandoned. Despite this, most of the information is first hand.

At the time of John Tom's boyhood (1840-50) shifts of population had not yet become necessary as the result of white intrusions. Even when Covington and Burke lived on the Columbia many of the old villages remained. The list is fairly complete for all settlements of more than two houses. Many of these small groups existed and for each there was a definite place name and group name, but the less important ones have been forgotten at this date. A few of the villages of the snəqaie'tk^{w} and of the Colville, neighbors of the Sanpoil, are recorded; these are the ones remembered by my informants. The population estimates were given by John Tom unless otherwise noted. The reliability of the estimates varies from one village to another; regarding some he was quite certain, about others he was dubious.

The villages of each group are given in geographical sequence, beginning with the village furthest down the Columbia and proceeding upriver.

NESPELEM VILLAGES

1. nəkukt'ci'ptn ("big basin"?), home of the snəkukt'ci'ptnux^{w}, located at the site of the present Condon's Ferry on the north side of the river. This was a summer settlement only; no winter houses were ever built here since fuel was scarce in the vicinity.[1] This location was occupied throughout the summer, not during the fishing season only. It served as a base from which trips across the river and back into the mountains were made. The summer tule houses began to appear early in May and were not torn down until near the end of August.

   This was not a true Nespelem village since much of the population was made up of members of the snəqaie'tk^{w} group usually residing during the winter at ka·γta·' (24). Others, from as far as Okanogan, occasionally came here for the summer when the fishing was especially good. The Nespelem and Sanpoil members of the village were drawn from the various upriver settlements as far as npui·'lux^{w} (15). Despite this diversity of population those who gathered there were known by a common group name during their sojourn.

   The number of people living here during the summer varied from 100 to 150.

2. nspi·'ləm (Nespelem), ("prairie," "desert country"), home of the snspi·'lux^{w}. This village was located on the lower Nespelem river; it extended from the falls to the mouth of the river, a distance of about three-quarters

[1] This was the explanation given by Covington. It should be noted, however, that other sites along the river where fuel was quite as difficult of access were occupied throughout the winter.

48. carI'pa.
49. lū'plūp, "salmon in little pools." 103
50. EnūkEnI'kEpūtEn, "cutting down tules." 361
51. ci'lōxwist.
52. ənlāxūlāxswa'tkᵘ, "rocks in the river." 619

The band affiliations of the two following Methow villages are not known.

53. lalae'lā'x.
54. snxEncI'naᵘx.

VILLAGE LIFE

There is no feeling of class distinction among these people. Every individual is free to make his own decisions and to choose his own manner of existence within the limitations of the culture pattern of the group. Thus, a man may fish, hunt or gamble when and where he chooses. He may establish himself and his family in any one of the village sites belonging to his immediate band or to a friendly band. Wherever he resides he must recognize the chief of that area as leader, but if the methods of a specific chief are displeasing, he may always move elsewhere. 181 571 565

An individual receives his nationality, not from the place of his nativity, but from the place where he resides the greater portion of his life. Thus, a Sinkaietk child captured and raised by the Blackfoot becomes, to a Sinkaietk mind, a Blackfoot of Sinkaietk parentage. 186 619 571 641

Actually, being free to go, they choose to stay. Family ties are very strong. The same group often winters at the same site year after year. The wealthy are respected and residence in their proximity is desirable, for practical reasons. In case of famine and extreme conditions, the wealthy assist the poor. Even a man who is poor because of laziness is not permitted to starve. He is cared for by his more enterprising and therefore more affluent relatives. 166 361 571

The power concept is a potent force in Sinkaietk social organization. Since power is not esoteric, every individual obtains some power, to a greater or lesser degree. The whole phenomenon makes for specialization. Thus, the leaders of group activities are chosen because of their abilities derived from specific powers. As a result, positions such as war leader, dance leader and house leader, hunting leader and curing doctor, are never hereditary and are not necessarily permanent during an individual's lifetime. 554 622 778

At all seasons of the year some families live in the hills. Single families are moving throughout the year, but at all times the villages along the rivers have the densest population, more so in winter than at any other season. A small group wintering apart from the main body of the band has no chief and sometimes does not even appoint a temporary headman, but the chief always knows where they are. For any specific acti- 361 621

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alêne

161 the population may have been between 3,000 and 4,000. Smallpox
164 twice attacked the tribe—first, it is said, about 1831 or 1832; and again about 1850. Toll was taken of every camp, and some camps were almost completely wiped out. The report of the United States I dian Department for 1905 gives the number of Coeur d'Alêne as 494, all on the Coeur d'Alêne Reservation. There were also 91 Upper and Middle Spokan with them on the reserve.

166 MIGRATIONS.—There is no record of any migrations. According to tradition, the tribe has always been in its recent habitat.

177 INTERCOURSE AND INTERMARRIAGE.—Intercourse was chiefly with the Spokan, and to a less extent with the Pend d'Oreilles and Nez Percé. The Coeur d'Alêne claim that long ago they seldom intermarried with other tribes, and what little intermarriage occurred was with Spokan, Pend d'Oreilles, and Nez Percé. They say the first intermarriage with Kalispel was not before 1840. After the tribe began to make annual journeys to the Flathead country for buffalo hunting intermarriage became more frequent with Pend d'Oreilles, and some took place also with Flathead and Kalispel. In later times there were a few intermarriages with Colville, Sanpoil, and Palous, but none at any time with Columbia, Wallawalla, Cayuse, Shoshoni (excepting slave marriages), Kutenai, and other tribes. The introduction of the horse facilitated intermarriage with Salish tribes to the west, north, and east. Since the tribe has been on their reservation intercourse has been almost entirely with the Spokan. Intermarriage with whites was never very common, and none occurred
[144] with Negroes and Chinese. There are probably fewer mixed-bloods among the Coeur d'Alêne than among the surrounding tribes. Long ago there were a few slave women in the tribe, chiefly Shoshoni from the south; but it is not likely that much foreign blood has been introduced from this source.

141 MENTAL AND PHYSICAL TRAITS.—The Coeur d'Alêne differ some-
157 what in appearance from the surrounding tribes. They are of fair
577 stature, the men probably averaging about 169 centimeters, few being very tall or very short. They appear to be more heavily built than the Spokan and Okanagon, and to have rather large heads and heavy faces. In disposition they seem to be more serious and reserved than some of the neighboring tribes. They pay much attention to religious practices, and have been considered since early times as a tribe possessing a rather high standard of morals.

II. MANUFACTURES

324 WORK IN STONE.—Stone of many kinds, intended for tools, was cut
412 with quartz crystals. Arrow smoothers, generally made of sandstone or other coarse-grained stone, were also cut with crystals. Sandstone was used for grinding and sharpening bone, antler, and

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

of animals considered as guardian spirits were often attached to the hair of the head, and to clothes, shields, and weapons. These as well as the designs painted on the body were supposed to lend power to the wearer and to protect him. The medicine case was often carried in battle, and many men wore scalp shirts and scalps or scalp locks. Besides the common eagle feather war bonnets, others made of the head skins of animals, set with horns, and entire skins of large birds, were used. A common "medicine skin" was that of a small owl noted for keenness of sight. The entire skin was fastened to the back of the hair, with the owl's face looking backward. Persons who had this owl for their guardian spirit and who wore its skin thus in their hair were protected from being attacked unawares. They were also exempt from any danger of attack from behind. Some men attached scalps to the hair; and long feather streamers hung from the hair or from the backs and sides of war bonnets. Some men took charms out of their medicine bags before battle and attached them to their hair. As already stated, war horses were often painted and decorated. White horses were preferred, and therefore were of most value among the Indians, because they showed off the paintings and decorations better than horses of other colors. Red was the common war color; but yellow, black, blue, and white were also used. War customs and war dances will be described later on. (See p. 187.)

WARS.—In olden times the Coeur d'Alêne had occasional wars with the Spokan, Kalispel, Pend d'Oreilles, Flathead, Nez Percé, and Kutenai; and in later times, after they began to hunt buffalo east of the Rocky Mountains, they fought with the Blackfoot, Crow, Sioux, and other eastern tribes. There are no traditions of wars with the Paloos, Cayuse, Columbia, and other western tribes. The following narratives will illustrate some of these wars, and at the same time throw some light on certain customs of the people.

Wars with the Spokan.—Usually the two tribes, the Coeur d'Alêne and Spokan, were friends. They traded and played games with each other. However, once long ago they were at war with each other for a time. A Spokan chief had given his daughter to be the wife of a Coeur d'Alêne chief. He had done this as a mark of esteem and of good will to this chief and to the Coeur d'Alêne tribe, and also to cement their friendship. The girl went with her husband to his home. Afterwards her husband had bad luck gambling. He blamed his bad luck on his new wife and hired a man to kill her. When the Spokan heard of this, they were very indignant, and declared war on the whole Coeur d'Alêne tribe. Those members of both tribes who lived near the limits of their respective territories deserted their homes and retired to their more distant tribespeople, so that a wide strip of intermediate country was left virtually uninhabited. The war lasted two or three years, and was detrimental to both tribes,

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alène

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and especially to the Coeur d'Alêne, who depended on fishing salmon and digging bitterroot within Spokan territory. All trading was also stopped. A Coeur d'Alêne chief[216] went to a salmon-fishing place on the Little Spokane. Coeur d'Alêne parties had been in the habit of going there annually to fish and play games with the Spokan. It was the fishing season, but no one was there. The chief felt very sorrowful when he saw the place look so deserted. He thought of the many good times and all the fun the Coeur d'Alêne and Spokan had so often had together at this place. He returned home, and called the other Coeur d'Alêne chiefs to a council. Six chiefs met him.

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He told how he had gone to the fishing place, and how he had sat down and had been overcome with sorrow when he viewed its loneliness, and had thought of the mirth and happiness that used to be there. Now there was no fishing there, and there were no games. All was as if dead. He said he wanted peace, and intended to give his daughter to the Spokan chief to make peace. All the other chiefs agreed with him. The girl was advised that she was to be made a sacrifice for peace, and that there was a possibility that the Spokan would kill her. She said she was willing to do as her father and the other chiefs advised, even if she should lose her life. She dressed herself in her best clothes, and the chiefs gave her a load of fine robes and valuables to carry as presents to the Spokan. Some Coeur d'Alêne men followed her, keeping out of sight. They were sent to learn her fate. One night, after traveling several days without seeing any one, she had a dream in which she was told that she would see people on the morrow. The following morning, shortly after leaving her camp, she saw in the distance a flock of flying cranes making a great noise. She thought people must have startled them, and she went in that direction. After a time she met a Spokan woman, and sat down to chat with her. She told her the errand she was on, and added, "If the Spokan kill me, I do not care; for I have been sent as a sacrifice by my father and the other Coeur d'Alêne chiefs, who all desire peace and a renewal of the friendly relations that formerly existed between the tribes. They are sorry that there is no more intercourse between us." The woman told her to sit where she was. She would go and see the people. This place was not far from Chewelah. A large number of Spokan were encamped there. When the Spokan chief learned of her mission, he sent out some young men to invite her in and to carry the presents she brought. After making a speech to all the people, he distributed the presents among them, and told them that he would take the girl to wife. She was a good girl, and henceforth lived with the Spokan. Shortly afterwards the chiefs of the two tribes met, and a permanent peace was arranged. This

[216] Some informants say it was the chief who killed his wife, but most informants say another chief.

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Coeur d'Alene

were keeping in line, and how they were progressing. The hunters themselves, hearing the signals, knew whether one or more persons were too far ahead or too far back, and they went faster or slower accordingly. Sometimes by agreement the hunting chief gave a signal at short intervals, so that all the others could hear. As long as he continued, the line kept advancing. When he stopped, the line stopped. When he began again, it advanced again. When a person saw game but could not shoot it, he gave a loud whistle (but not shrill) as a signal to his companions that game had been seen and to look out for it. Besides whistling and the calling of "Hô!" dog and owl cries were used in hunting.

X. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND FESTIVALS

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.—The social organization of the Coeur d'Alêne seems to have been almost the same as that which obtained among the Thompson.[221] There was no hereditary nobility, no class with special privileges. Clans, gentes, phratries, or societies did not exist. The tribe was divided into geographical divisions and bands in the same way as were the Thompson. In some cases the people of a band occupied but a single winter camp, while others occupied several small contiguous camps. However, as a rule, one of these was larger than the others, and was considered the main camp of the band. Each band had headquarters in a well-defined locality. The division consisted of a group of bands occupying a certain large area, defined, and separated more or less definitely from other bands of the tribe by natural boundaries, such as mountain ranges. Thus, for instance, the people of Coeur d'Alêne and St. Joe Rivers would naturally constitute separate divisions of the tribe, as their respective territories were situated quite apart, a wide intervening stretch of mountainous country separating the two. The band consisted of a greater or lesser number of families more or less closely related, being descendants of people who had made the territory their headquarters for a long time. Each family, no matter in what part of the tribal territory it might temporarily be living, belonged to some particular band, and therefore had a locality that was considered to be its home, and which it claimed as such. Each family generally wintered within the territory of the band to which it belonged, although it did not necessarily winter in the same spot every winter. Occasionally families wintered in the territories of other bands where they had friends or relatives. Some people claimed the right to winter in the territory of any one of two or three different bands, because they were descended from people of all these places. A family might winter at the father's or husband's village, or again at the mother's or wife's. People having close rela-

[221] *a*, pp. 289–302.

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Coeur d'Alene

tives in different bands sometimes wintered with one and sometimes with another, or spent half the winter in one and the other half in another. Often they wintered with one set of relatives and summered with another. With these many mixed families, it was largely habit that decided in which village they lived most of the time. As a rule, however, one band or village was preferred. In time it became their real headquarters; and their children usually continued to live in this place. There was considerable intercourse and relationship through intermarriage between all the bands of a division, but considerably less between bands of different divisions. However, as the permanently inhabited part of the Coeur d'Alêne country was not very extensive, and the territories of the several divisions and bands were connected by easy waterways, there was probably more intercourse and relationship between them than was the case in some other tribes. Neighboring bands had much intercourse with one another in the wintertime; less in the summer when there was much more traveling, and distant bands were often visited. Before the advent of the horse, the Coeur d'Alêne spent a good deal of time traveling, fishing, and hunting along the rivers and lakes of their country, although parties also went on distant hunting trips in the mountains during the fair season. At certain seasons considerable numbers of people congregated at famous camas and other root-digging grounds. They also went to the Spokan for salmon fishing, trading, and sports. These journeys were made on foot, for there were no water routes leading to these places. On the whole the people were fairly sedentary, and most of them lived the greater part of the year on their home grounds, although they had no permanent houses or villages, unless the long communal dance houses at the larger villages may be so called. Being a semisedentary people, and living in a country where wood, bark, and vegetal materials of many kinds abounded, the Coeur d'Alêne developed the arts of fishing, canoe making, and textile work in weaving of mats, bags, and baskets, probably to a greater degree than any of the neighboring tribes.

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With the introduction of the horse the social and economic life of the tribe became materially changed. In fact, it seems that it wrought a greater change in their customs and material culture than in any other tribe. Fishing and canoe travel were gradually forsaken for buffalo hunting and travel by horse. Since the forested country was not well adapted for horses, most of the tribe moved to the more open, grassy districts. This drew them away from the lakes, and in great measure from fishing, canoes, bark, and wood, materials which they were accustomed to use. They could not follow the old life on the water and in the forests, and at the same time keep horses. Besides, as raising and herding horses and buffalo hunting necessitated much travel, the people had no time for their former industries. Further-

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
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escaped all the epidemics until 1857 and 1862. The Indians ascribe the great decrease in their numbers to these epidemics and, to a less extent, to other diseases brought in by the whites at a later date. 164 161

MIGRATIONS AND MOVEMENTS OF TRIBES.[45]—It seems that there has been a gradual extension of the Okanagon northward and northwestward during the last two centuries. The original home of the tribe is said to have been the Okanagon River in Washington (according to some, near Okanagon Falls).[46] Long ago the Okanagon Lake country was chiefly a hunting ground for the tribe. Deer, elk, and sheep were abundant. Caribou were plentiful in the hills to the east, and a few moose and possibly antelope were to be had. Bear and most kinds of fur-bearing animals were also plentiful. Fish could be procured in the lake all the year round. The main winter villages were located farther to the south. 166 174 361

It seems that about 1750 the Shuswap controlled the country right to the head of Okanagon Lake, where they met the Okanagon. They also hunted in the country east of Okanagon Lake south to a point due east of Penticton, including a large part of the headwaters of Kettle River. They crossed the Gold Range to near the Arrow Lakes, claiming the country as far east as the head of Caribou Lake and the middle of Fire Valley, where they met the Lake tribe. In the country west of the Lake they hunted on a strip of the higher grounds from Stump Lake and the head of Salmon River, extending almost as far south as Penticton, across the heads of all the streams falling into Okanagon Lake and Similkameen River, including Chapperon and Douglas Lakes.[47] They had no permanent villages in this region, but lived near Kamloops Lake, on South Thompson River, and on Salmon Arm.

The Thompson hunted south and west of this region, as far as the upper and middle Similkameen, and beyond to the south.

The Okanagon had some villages along Okanagon Lake, but it seems that the tribe used only the country contiguous to the lake on both sides, and did not range back more than a few miles. They had no foothold in the Nicola, and none in the Similkameen except below Keremeous. The people who lived at the head of Okanagon Lake were of Okanagon and Shuswap descent, with slight Thompson and *Stuwī'ɣ* admixture. The Nicola-Similkameen country west and south of the Shuswap hunting grounds was at this time still held by *Stuwī'ɣ*, who, later on, became strongly mixed with Thompson. They were the permanent inhabitants of the Nicola-Similkameen

[45] In regard to this subject consult James H. Teit, The Middle Columbia Salish, edited by Franz Boas, University of Washington Publication in Anthropology, vol. 2, no. 4, pp. 83-128; and maps by Franz Boas, territorial distribution of Salish Tribes, accompanying 41st Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn.

[46] See p. 199; also Genealogy of the Douglas Lake Chiefs, p. 265; and Dawson, Shuswap People of British Columbia, p. 8. The early fur traders claimed that the original home of the Okanagon was in Washington.

[47] See Genealogy of Douglas Lake Chiefs, pp. 255 et seq.

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valley, but parties of Thompson from Thompson River traveled and hunted all over the *Stuwi'ɬ* country, and made it their home for parts of the year. Some of them occasionally wintered there, either alone or in the *Stuwi'ɬ* villages.

After the introduction of the horse there seems to have been considerable drifting of Okanagon from farther south into the Okanagon Lake country. Toward the end of the eighteenth century the Okanagon from the upper part of Okanagon Lake (who were considered close relatives by Shuswap, Thompson, and *Stuwi'ɬ* through intermarriage) began to invade the Shuswap hunting grounds to the west. They already had free access to these grounds through their blood relationship, but now they settled there, attracted by the fine grazing for horses, good elk hunting, and facilities for trading. By this time they must have attained considerable prestige as traders and as wealthiest in horses. Very soon they made a large permanent settlement at Douglas Lake, and thereafter the Shuswap, it seems by agreement,[46] retired from the country around Douglas Lake and south. When the Okanagon settled there the country around Nicola Lake was inhabited by one or two small bands of *Stuwi'ɬ*. It seems that one of these had headquarters at the outlet of the lake and the other at the mouth of Upper Nicola River near Guichons. The upper band may have numbered about 50 or 60 persons and the lower band about the same or less. The country of the upper band especially was used by large bands of Thompson at certain seasons for hunting elk and deer, and for fishing. Sometime in the very early part of the nineteenth century the upper band was practically exterminated by a large war party of Shuswap.[47] Thereafter the Douglas Lake Okanagon began to take their place. Some Thompson parties continued to come there hunting and fishing, until about 1870; and the people of this place (*Ku'tsmi'x*) are considerably mixed Thompson. No doubt they contain also slight *Stuwi'ɬ* and Shuswap elements. The *Stuwi'ɬ* tribe is said to have extended to the region near the mouth of the Similkameen River, but they were driven out by the Okanagon. This may have happened about 1700.[48] Later the Okanagon gradually extended up the Similkameen to Keremeous, but above that point the *Stuwi'ɬ* and Thompson held the country.

I did not hear of any movements resulting in extension of boundaries among the other tribes, except perhaps the Nespelim. According to tradition, the Nespelim were a part of the Sanpoil. It seems likely that they originated as an extension of the Sanpoil westward.

The Lake tribe seem to have been a long time in their present habitat. It is possible, however, that they may have been a northern

[46] See Genealogy of Douglas Lake Chiefs, pp. 285, 286.
[47] See Smith, Archaeology of the Thompson River Region, pp. 466, 467.
[48] See Genealogy of Douglas Lake Chiefs, p. 284.

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offshoot of the Colville, whom they regard as their nearest of kin. Some of them even say that they were originally one people whose home was at Marcus. An Okanagon chief told me he believed the Spokan were of Flathead ancestry, and that the Okanagon probably came from the Flathead country long ago, as their language was closely related to the Flathead, and was called by the same name as the Flathead language.

INTERCOURSE AND INTERMARRIAGE.—The Lake tribe had most intercourse with the Colville and intermarried mostly with them. They also had a considerable amount of intercourse with the Shuswap and some with the Lower Kutenai. There was, however, much less intermarriage with Shuswap and still less with the Lower Kutenai, the Okanagon, and hardly any with other tribes.

The Colville had a great deal of intercourse with all the neighboring tribes, particularly with the Lake and Kalispel. They intermarried more or less with all the tribes—Lake, Okanagon, Sanpoil, Spokan, and Kalispel, and even others farther away. It seems, however, that there was no intermarriage with non-Salishan people until after the arrival of the fur traders, when some intermarriage took place, chiefly with Iroquois and French.

The Sanpoil had most intercourse with the Okanagon and Colville and intermarried principally with the former, only slightly with the Spokan and Columbia. Although for about 35 years Joseph's band of Nez Percé has been living on the Colville Reserve in close association with Nespelim, Columbia, and others, there appears to have been little intermarriage between these tribes. Some of these Nez Percé are partly of Wallawalla, Umatilla, and Cayuse blood. A few people of Yakima descent are on the reservation, descendants of refugees among the Salishan tribes after the Yakima and Spokan wars with the whites. Among these are some sons and descendants of Chief Kamiakin.

The Okanagon had much intercourse with the Sanpoil and considerable with Columbia, Wenatchi, Shuswap, and Thompson. They also intermarried with all these tribes, and sometimes also with Lake, Colville, and Spokan. As stated before, the northern portion of the tribe intermarried with the Shuswap and Thompson, and no doubt also to some degree with the *Stuwi'ʒ*. There has been a slow permeation of Okanagon blood and language into the Similkameen and Nicola districts by way of Similkameen River and Douglas Lake, and to a less extent into the Spallumcheen valley (Shuswap) from the head of Okanagon Lake. Some of this blood, through intermarriage, has reached as far as Kamloops, Spences Bridge, and even Lytton. The Okanagon may have supplanted the *Stuwi'ʒ* on the Lower Similkameen River; they may also have absorbed some remnants of the latter; above Keremeous the process has been that of absorption.

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Kalispel
Spokan

attacked the camp. They also appeared in the Upper Kutenai and Pend d'Oreilles countries, and in somewhat later times their war parties occasionally penetrated into the country of the Kalispel. However, the only ones that suffered much in these raids west of the Rockies were the *Semtē'use*, who are said to have been easy-going and loosely organized. Large war parties of Blackfoot attacked them several times and killed large numbers of people. The remnant of the tribe forsook their old camping places and wintered near Missoula. Here or on the Big Blackfoot River they were attacked again and many were killed. This was about 1800, before the smallpox came and before Lewis and Clark arrived. The remainder of the tribe succumbed to the smallpox and the few survivors settled among the Pend d'Oreilles.

A short time previous to this date the Pend d'Oreilles had combined with the Flathead for hunting on the plains, and in great measure they had forsaken their old style of life. Many of them had evacuated the region around Flathead Lake and the extreme northern part of their territory, at least for a great part of the year, and the bulk of the tribe wintered in one great camp at Mission (*Sniye'lemen*). About this time the Blackfoot began to have guns, which made them stronger, and parties often appeared in the northern Pend d'Oreilles country. The Kutenai could not cross the mountains to hunt, and at the invitation of the Pend d'Oreilles some of them had joined the latter for hunting buffalo. These Kutenai belonged to Rexford and Tobacco Plains; but some of them are said to have lived originally east of the mountains, and others at places in the northern part of the Kutenai country. In later times those Kutenai who associated most with the Pend d'Oreilles seldom returned to their own country after their return from buffalo hunting, but made their winter camps in that part of the Pend d'Oreilles country evacuated by the Pend d'Oreilles, chiefly north and west of Flathead Lake. Occasionally camps made west and south of the lake were composed of both Kutenai and Pend d'Oreilles. Some time after the Blackfoot had begun to make expeditions west of the mountains Crow war parties occasionally came into the western part of the Flathead country.

The Flathead now invited the western tribes to join forces with them for hunting buffalo in the old Flathead country east of the mountains. The Coeur d'Alêne and Nez Percé began to come, and about the same time many Kalispel joined the Pend d'Oreilles. Within a short time large parties of Nez Percé and Coeur d'Alêne arrived annually for buffalo hunting. It was not long before these forces were augmented by large numbers of Spokan and Columbia, and by small numbers of people from neighboring tribes farther west. At first the allies combined in two or three large parties. Sometimes Flathead and Nez Percé went together in one party and Pend

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Kalispel
Spokan

century some other tribes were met or heard of, such as the Sarsi, who lived among the Blackfoot; the Cree in the north, just beyond the Blackfoot; Stony Assiniboin, in the Rocky Mountains to the north, who are supposed to have broken away from the real Assiniboin farther east; and the River Crow who had separated from the Mountain Crow and migrated north to near the borders of the Gros Ventres. Still other tribes were the Sioux, who came from very far east and were enemies of all the tribes; also the Omaha and others to the southeast. Iroquois and stragglers from various distant tribes came in with the early white traders and explorers. The causes of the southern movement of the Blackfoot and the western movements of the Crow and other tribes are unknown, but it is supposed that they originated in their desire to find a better buffalo country and to obtain supplies of horses. The country of the Salish and Shoshoni, east of the Rockies from about the Canadian line to a little south of the Yellowstone, was probably the best buffalo country. On the other hand, the Blackfoot and some eastern tribes are said to have had comparatively few buffalo in their countries. Also the western tribes are said to have been supplied with horses at an earlier date than those of the east. It is also considered possible that some of the tribes which invaded the western plains may have been forced west by enemies, as nearly all the eastern tribes fought among themselves as well as against the western tribes.[46] There are some vague traditions of other movements of tribes which may indicate migrations in very early times. They are not particularly connected with wars and are as follows:

A vague tradition among some of the Pend d'Oreilles says that their remote ancestors broke away from the main body of the people; that they were attacked by enemies, crossed a lake on the ice, and finally, after a series of migrations, reached their present country. The Thompson have a somewhat similar tradition. Some Pend d'Oreilles consider the Kalispel as an offshoot of themselves.

The *Slatl'use* or Chewelah are said to have been a part or a band of the Lower Kalispel, originally inhabiting the Calispell Lake region, who moved into the Colville Valley. They claimed equal rights in the camas digging near Calispell Lake with the Kalispel of Usk and of the east side of the Pend Oreille River.

Although there appear to be no definite traditions on the subject, Revais considered the Kalispel as a branch of the Pend d'Oreilles

[46] In reply to queries, it was stated that the real or original Blackfoot country was north of Milk River. The Piegan lived here and the Blood and real Blackfoot north of them. At one time the Piegan neighbored with the Kutenai-Tsuf'ye to the west and Gros Ventres to the east. The Assiniboin were east of the Gros Ventres. Whether the countries of the last two tribes were originally Piegan or Blackfoot is unknown. Kutenai, Piegan, and Shoshoni territories met at the Sweet Grass Hills. The Piegan also occupied the head of Milk and Marias Rivers, but this was old Kutenai-Tsuf'ye country. It is not known how long the Shoshoni had been in possession of their country between the Missouri and the Sweet Grass Hills before the advent of the horse, but they are thought to have been there a long time.

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rather than vice versa. He as well as others considered the Flathead as the parent tribe of the Flathead group. Revais stated that he had heard some vague traditions regarding some movements of tribes in the Spokan and Palóos countries, but he had forgotten them so far that he did not care to make any statement as to what they were.

There was a tradition among the Flathead that a long time ago part of their tribe migrated to the west, and that the descendants of this group are living in a distant country and still speak the Flathead language. This belief is held by several tribes, and is perhaps too general to be taken into account. Some of my informants believed that all related tribes of every language had originated by breaking away from some parent group and migrating here and there in search of better food supply, but the migrations happened so long ago that in most cases the traditions are lost. It seems possible that there have been some early movements of Flathead people westward toward the salmon streams. The Pend Oreille River route is easy of travel, and was the main route of communication between the plains and the western plateaus from the earliest times. Any migrations which may have occurred would have been by way of this route.

INTERCOURSE AND INTERMARRIAGE.—In olden times the Flathead had most intercourse with Salish-*Tunâ'ɣe* and Shoshoni and intermarried chiefly with them. There was also considerable intercourse and intermarriage with the Pend d'Oreilles and *Sɤmte'use*. The Flathead living around Helena are said to have mixed a great deal with the Salish-*Tunâ'ɣe*, and even the Flathead of Butte and neighborhood were mixed with them. Some people say that before the days of horses the Flathead intermarried very little with other tribes; but there was some intermarriage with Shoshoni, and a little with Pend d'Oreilles and Salish-*Tunâ'ɣe*. The Salish-*Tunâ'ɣe* intermarried with Flathead, and also with the Shoshoni of the Lower Teton River. There was slight intermarriage with the Pend d'Oreilles, and possibly some with Blackfoot. Most intermarriage, however, was with the Kutenai-*Tunâ'ɣe*. Some say that there was so much intermarriage with the latter that there was no very distinct dividing line between the two. The people north of Sun River, on the Teton and Marias, south of Browning, were more than half Kutenai in blood and language. It seems that among the inhabitants of the whole strip of country next the mountains and between the Blackfoot and Flathead a great deal of intermarriage had taken place. Probably Salish blood predominated from about Teton River southward and Kutenai northward, the people in the center being the most mixed. The *Sɤmtê'use* had most intercourse with the Pend d'Oreilles, and intermarried chiefly with them. Those people who lived on the upper Missoula River intermarried to some extent with